

T. R. MAKES FIRST HUGHES SPEECH

Continued from First Page.

As its conduct in that crisis demonstrates. The citizen who does not act, and who endorses to shape America's policy in the interest of the country from which he or his ancestors have sprung, is no true American, and has no moral right to citizenship in this country. Any attempt to organize American citizens into a political party, for the purpose of doing evil, is a crime against the American people. Any organization of American citizens which acts in the interest of a foreign power is guilty of moral treason to the republic.

Condemns "Hyphenates."

It is because of such action that I condemn those professional German-Americans who in their politics act as servants and agents, not as Americans interested solely in the honor and welfare of America; and I would condemn just as quickly English-Americans, French-Americans or Irish-Americans who acted in such manner. "Americanism is a matter of the spirit, of the soul, of the mind; not of birthplace or creed. We care nothing as to where a man was born, and where he grew up, from which his forefathers came, so long as he is whole heartedly and in good faith an American and nothing else."

During the last two years we have seen an American country of non-American and anti-American division along political-racial lines; and we owe this primarily to the fact that President Wilson has lacked the men of the vision to lead this nation in the path of high duty, and by his lack of affirmative leadership has loosened the moral fibre of our people, led to our national disunity and has encouraged the growth within our own borders of separatism along the lines of racial origin.

When our own Government so acted as to bring shame on all our people, it shook the spirit of loyalty among those to whom it was vital that loyalty should be taught. Full hearted allegiance is shattered by the government that fails to uphold the honor and interest of the nation by immediate and effective action when the lives of its citizens are menaced or taken by foreign powers.

Accuses Professional Moralists.

"The cause of preparedness is inseparably connected with the cause of Americanism, of patriotism, of whole hearted loyalty to this nation and to all for which all the great men of this nation in the past have stood. The events of the last two years have made it evident that the dreams of the professional moralists were mere pipe dreams, nightmares, so far as the unfortunate nations who trusted them were concerned."

Moreover, in practice these pacifists have shown not only utter failure but moral baseness. They have not only been helpless to defend themselves but they have been so anxious to save their skins that they have done nothing to say one word against triumphant wrong and in favor of the right that was crushed by the wrong. There are few things more degrading than such an attitude when taken by professional moralists.

"As the world now is our great free democracy must understand that unless it can protect itself by its own strength and its strength is not strength at all unless it is carefully trained in advance—it will sooner or later suffer the fate that China is suffering before our eyes. Thanks to the fact that President Wilson has sometimes led us wrong, and sometimes not led us at all, and that at best he merely has followed after of men who convinced that it was morally safe to do so, we are at this moment more prepared to defend ourselves than we were two years ago when the world broke out. At last we have begun the work of restoring our navy and our position it formerly held; but it will take years to undo the harm done when in control of the House and Senate, and the navy and the army and the air force, and it is entirely impossible to make the navy what it should be made as long as we have a President who appoints and retains at his head a public official of the type of Mr. Daniels."

"Our regular army should be increased to a quarter of a million men, with a short term service of enlistment. This would give us a mobile army of 125,000 men, enough to patrol the Mexican border without help from the National Guard, when Mr. Wilson halts between feeble peace and feeble war. But this is not enough. The events of the last two years have shown that no people permanently can preserve its freedom unless that people is trained to arms. Above all, this is true of a democracy. The enjoyment of right must go hand in hand with the performance of duty."

Wants Universal Suffrage.

"Universal suffrage cannot be justified unless it counters the performance by every voter of full duty to the state both in peace and in war. The man who refuses to fit himself to fight in righteous war for his country is not fit to vote in that country. We should follow the examples of the free democracies of Switzerland and Australia. There should be in this country a sort of universal obligatory military training in time of peace, and in time of war universal service in whatever capacity the man or woman shall be judged most fit to serve the Commonwealth."

"The policies of Americanism and preparedness, taken together, mean applied patriotism. There should be correlation of policy and action. Our first duty as citizens of the United States is owed to the United States. But if we are true to our principles we must also take into account the interests of mankind at large. In addition to serving our own country we must shape the policy of our country so as to secure the cause of international righteousness, fair play and humanity. Our first duty is to protect our own rights; our second, to stand up for the rights of others."

"President Wilson signally has failed to perform this duty in time of peace, and performed only by deed. Words alone are useless. But, above all, fine words about abstract qualities which are contradicted by unworthy deeds in concrete cases are more degrading than useless, because they teach us habits of hypocrisy and because other nations regard us with utter contempt."

"President Wilson, in his Declaration day speech said: 'We hold dear the principle that small and weak states have as much right to their sovereignty and independence as large and powerful nations.' These were fine words. They were spoken about the abstract. When it became his duty to reduce them to deeds in the concrete Mr. Wilson immediately flinched."

"The case of Belgium exactly met his definition. It was a small and weak state (and a highly civilized and well behaved state) its 'right to sovereignty and independence' was trampled under foot by a neighboring large and strong nation. But as soon as the need for deeds arose, Mr. Wilson was ready to announce 'the principle he held dear.' He promptly announced that we should be 'neutral in fact as well as in name, in thought as well as in action' between the small, weak, unoffending nation and the large, strong nation which was robbing it of its sovereignty and independence."

the wrong he thereby did their country. As an American with exceptional international knowledge has said:

"A single official expression by the Government of the United States, a single servant of the President, a single official disapproval of what Germany did in Belgium, would have given to the people of America that leadership to which they were entitled in the earnest groping for the light. It would have ranged behind American leadership the conscience and morality of the neutral world. It would have brought to American diplomacy the respect and strength of loyalty to a great cause. But it was not to be. The American Government failed to rise to the demands of the great occasion."

"Keep Us Out of War."

"At this moment Mr. Wilson and Mr. Wilson's fuglemen advance as his great claim that he has kept us out of war." This claim can be seriously made only by individuals who endorse President Wilson's belief that deeds are nothing and words everything. War means a clash between the armed forces of two countries. Nowadays (thanks quite as much to the professional pacifists as to the military) it means, furthermore, the destruction of the lives of civilians and the property of civilians, as well as the property of the Government.

Under President McKinley we had a war with Spain. Not President Wilson we are assured that we have had 'peace' with Mexico. These are the words. Now for the deeds. During the war with Spain the Spaniards had been killed by Mexicans during the present 'peace' with Mexico.

Let me repeat this. A greater number of Americans have been killed by Mexicans during these years, when we are officially informed that we have been at peace with them, than were killed by the Spaniards during the war with Spain. Moreover, when the war with Spain was through, it was through. But peace continues to rage as furiously as ever in Mexico. The present 'peace' with Spain was to put a stop to the dreadful butchery and starvation in Cuba and the Philippines and the career of eighteen years of peace and prosperity such as they have never known before in all their checkered history.

"But during these three years of Mr. Wilson's 'peace,' the Mexicans themselves have been butchered by their own bandits steadily and without intermission; and Mexican women and children have died by thousands—probably by scores of thousands—of starvation and of the disease incident to starvation. In other words, Mr. McKinley's war cost less bloodshed than Mr. Wilson's 'peace'; and it reflected high honor on the American people; whereas Mr. Wilson's 'peace' has been one of shame and dishonor for the American people, and one of ruin and bloodshed for the Mexicans themselves."

Compared to Spanish War.

"Mr. Wilson says we have had peace with Mexico. He says he did not wage war with Mexico. If he takes any comfort out of this denial, let us not insist upon the proper terminology, and admit that he merely waged peace with Mexico. Well, as one incident of his waging peace, we took Vera Cruz. Some seventy-five men were killed and wounded, and three or four times that number of Mexicans."

"In Mr. McKinley's war, we took Manila; and Mexico's fleet lost fewer men in the operation than resulted in the taking of Vera Cruz. Under these conditions, of what earthly consequence is it to assert that the taking of Vera Cruz was an act of peace, and the taking of Manila an act of war? Only by a misuse of terminology, only by the use of incorrect terminology can we distinguish one military operation from the other."

"The real difference was that Mr. Wilson became frightened and abandoned Vera Cruz, whereas Mr. McKinley did not abandon Manila. Mr. Wilson's operations were war just as much as Mr. McKinley's. But Mr. Wilson was wiser in his war. It was a war which was entered into pointlessly and abandoned ignominiously. It was a war which failed; a war which did damage both to the Mexicans and ourselves, and which in its outcome reflected infinite dishonor upon our nation. But it was a war, nevertheless."

"Again, in March last, Villa made a raid into American territory. He was a bandit leader whose career of successful infamy had been greatly aided by Mr. Wilson's favor and backing. He was at the head of Mexican soldiers, whose arms and ammunition had been supplied to them in consequence of Mr. Wilson's reversing Mr. Taft's policy and aiding the embargo against arms and munitions into Mexico. They attacked Columbus, N. M., and killed a number of civilians and a number of United States troops."

"On the next day the President issued an announcement that adequate forces would be sent in pursuit of Villa with the single object of capturing him." On April 8, an announcement was made from the White House that the troops would remain in Mexico until Villa was captured. It was furthermore announced in the press, describing from Washington that he was to be taken 'dead or alive.' Fine words! Only—they meant nothing. He is not dead. He has not been taken alive."

Spanish War Exceeded.

"On May 12 the pursuit of Villa formally was abandoned. On June 1 the official figures of the dead and wounded during this futile expedition were published, and they showed that the killed and wounded included 116 United States soldiers and ninety-five American civilians. Since then the Mexicans have killed many more. I notice, for example, in the press that at Aguacilla, there has just been buried a dead American soldier, who died July 21. He would have received two days previous in a fight with Mexican bandits."

Mr. Roosevelt then quoted the statement of Secretary Lansing, which referred to three years of murder, raids and banditry on the border, in which American lives had been lost, American property destroyed, American trains wrecked and plundered. The concluding paragraph of the statement said:

"The attacks on Brownsville, Red House Ferry, Progress, Post Office and Las Palapas, all occurring during September last, are typical. In these attacks on American territory Carranzas and his followers, even Carranzas soldiers, took part in the burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but unprovoked acts of mutilation were perpetrated."

Carranza Is Recognized.

"President Wilson therefore explicitly shows that the Carranzistas, not once but repeatedly, made attacks on American towns and killed American citizens and mutilated them in September, 1915. Yet on October 19, 1915, less than a month later, this same President Wilson, through his same Secretary of State, formally announced to Carranzas that it was his 'pleasure' to take the opportunity of extending recognition to the de facto Government of Mexico, of which

Gen. Venustiano Carranza is the chief executive."

"President Wilson thus recognized the Government which had been in existence for months previously engaged in repeated assaults upon Americans, and in the invasion of American soil, the Government which had been in existence for months previously engaged in repeated assaults upon Americans, and in the invasion of American soil, the Government which had been in existence for months previously engaged in repeated assaults upon Americans, and in the invasion of American soil."

"President Wilson did not merely kiss the hands that slaved him, but he also kissed the hands that slaved him. He kissed the hands that slaved him, and he kissed the hands that slaved him. He kissed the hands that slaved him, and he kissed the hands that slaved him. He kissed the hands that slaved him, and he kissed the hands that slaved him."

"In all this shameful history of Mr. Wilson's dealings with Mexico during the last three years nothing has been more shameful than his conduct at Tampico."

"At that time the particular bandit Mr. Wilson was favoring happened to be Villa. This, however, is of no consequence. Mr. Wilson was sometimes helped the different Mexican leaders, but he was never helped by any of them. He was never helped by any of them. He was never helped by any of them. He was never helped by any of them."

"At Tampico there was a general movement of attack by the Mexicans on Americans and other foreigners. We and our countrymen were in the neighborhood. The Wilson Administration declined to permit this squadron to be used to defend the lives of American men and the honor of American women, and the commanders of the German and English ships at Tampico had to step in and perform the task our representatives had so basely abandoned."

"At the very time that the bandit mob had surrounded the building in which the Americans had taken refuge and was howling for their blood, the American fleet, in spite of the protest of the American naval commander, and in accordance with wireless orders from Washington, was forced to steam out of the harbor and leave the Americans to be massacred by the Mexicans or rescued by the Germans and English."

Recalls "Watchful Waiting."

"On August 27, 1915, President Wilson said with marked oratorical effect: 'We shall vigilantly watch the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away from Mexico.' 'Watchful waiting'—the phrase means nothing, for there never is any deed to back it up. Three years have passed since the date of this oration, three years of incessant eloquence on the part of Mr. Wilson, three years of repeated invocations to humanity and peace by Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Wilson still continues to 'watchful wait' the fortunes of those Americans who cannot get away from Mexico."

"There are not many of them left now. Hundreds have been killed, and Mr. Wilson has watched their fortunes as disinterestedly as if they had been a used by terrorists. This Administration has displayed no more feeling of responsibility for the American women who have been raped and for the American men, women and children who have been killed in Mexico than a farmer shows for the rats killed by his dogs when the hay is taken to the barn. And yet the American people are asked to sanction this policy in the name of peace, righteousness and humanity."

"Throughout this time President Wilson, in pursuance of the policy he enunciated in his message to Congress in December, 1914, has kept this country unprepared to fight any foreign foe. But he has allowed all the factories in Mexico to prepare themselves to kill American soldiers and American civilians. In his message above quoted he says that he will 'follow the best practice of nations in matters of neutrality by forbidding the exportation of arms and munitions of war of any kind from the United States to any part of the Republic of Mexico.'"

"This was on August 27, 1915. On February 2, 1916, he changed his mind. Mr. Wilson may have a single track mind, but as has been remarked in that he possesses unexampled swiftness of action, he lifted the embargo on arms and munitions. On February 5 the arms and munitions embargo was lifted everywhere, and during the next few months military supplies of all kinds crossed the border for all of the Mexican factions."

Again Changes Mind.

"And on April 23, 1916, Mr. Wilson again changed his mind and ordered that the embargo on arms be restored. But on May 15 he changed his mind again, and the embargo was lifted so far as shipments to Tampico and other Mexican ports were concerned. On May 25, the cargoes of arms which we had refused to allow to land at Vera Cruz accordingly were landed elsewhere and sent to Huerta, while on June 2 the Carranzistas got their through Tampico. On September 9 the embargo was lifted everywhere, and during the next few months military supplies of all kinds crossed the border for all of the Mexican factions."

"On October 22, 1915, when all the factions apply had been supplied, Mr. Wilson again restored the embargo as to all factions, excepting the Carranzistas. On October 29, therefore, Mr. Wilson specifically permitted arms to be sent the adherents of the same Carranzas, who, according to his own Secretary of State, in the month of September, thirty days previous, on four specific occasions, invaded American territory and butchered American citizens, molesting them before and after death. On the date when this embargo was thus raised, the names of 276 Americans who had been murdered had been officially placed on file. How many others had been murdered cannot at present be told."

"President Wilson took Vera Cruz in 1914, as we were officially informed at the time, to get a cause for the flag, and to prevent the shipment of arms to Mexico. He did not get his salute. He did not prevent the shipment of arms. But several hundred men were killed or wounded, and then he brought the army home without achieving either object."

"President Wilson sent an army into Mexico in 1915, as we were informed at the time, to get Villa 'dead or alive.' They did not get him dead. They did not get him alive. Again several hundred men were killed and wounded. Again President Wilson is bringing the army home without achieving his object."

Unsuccessful "Little Wars."

"Of course it is a mere play upon words to say that these were not 'wars.' They were wars, and nothing else; ignoble, pointless, unsuccessful little wars. I call your attention to the fact that the attacks on the four southern American towns in September last were 'typical,' and says that 'these attacks on American territory were Carranzista adventures and Carranzista soldiers who took part in the burning and killing. Not only were these murders characterized by ruthless brutality, but unprovoked acts of mutilation were perpetrated.'"

Condemns "Safety First."

"In fact, when Mr. Wilson forgets himself he admits that we have been at war; for example, on May 11, 1914, in an address over the dead martyrs at the navy yard in Brooklyn in which, by the way, he in effect claimed sympathy on the ground that his feelings had been hurt by the death of the dead men by bullets, he said that the marines had been engaged in a 'war of service.' A war of service

to whom or what? Certainly not to the United States; nor to Mexico; nor to humanity at large. Was it to Mr. Wilson?"

"It is to with 'war' as it is with 'intervention.' President Wilson has again and again said he would not 'intervene' in Mexico. As a matter of fact he has intervened continuously. On January 8, 1915, he announced that the Mexicans had the right to 'spill blood,' to spill as much blood as they pleased, without interference. The fact that the blood then were spilling included the blood of American citizens, both soldiers and civilians, and among them women and children, evidently did not weigh with him."

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"But as he never followed any policy of 'watchful waiting'—a policy of waiting with any resolution—always yielding at the critical moment to some bandit chief of whom he became fearful, with his hands outstretched, and his spurs of non-intervention have alike been entirely futile. In August, 1913, he sent a special envoy to Mexico to tell Huerta he would not recognize him. On October 2, 1915, he announced that he would not deal with the Huerta Government. This was intervention, and nothing else. He intervened as if in 1877 some European Government had declined to recognize Hayes as President and insisted on seating Tilden. Mr. Wilson's policy, by the way, is the policy of Bryan and his free silver creed in 1896, and the freeing of Cuba and the

Recalls American Will.

Mr. Roosevelt then recalled Abraham Lincoln and his putting the question of the end of slavery before the American people in 1860 and adding by his decision, he also referred to the American people and his free silver creed in 1896, and the freeing of Cuba and the

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"At one time Mr. Wilson's policy of intervention produced such unhappy results that on June 2, 1915, he issued a formal warning to the Mexican factions in which he said that 'Mexico is apparently no nearer a solution of her tragic situation than she was in 1914. Her situation was first kindled. She has been swept by civil war as if by fire. Her crops are destroyed, her cattle confiscated, her people flee to the mountains to escape being drawn into unavailing bloodshed, and no man seems to see or lead the way to peace and settled order. There is no proper protection either for the citizens or for the citizens of other nations resident and at work within her territory. Mexico is starving and without a government.'"

"A delightful picture of the effects of Mr. Wilson's policy, by the way! He therefore tells Mexico that unless 'within a very short time' the Mexican leaders get together for the relief and redemption of their prostrate country, the United States 'will be constrained to decide what means should be employed' to deal with the situation. But as usual Mr. Wilson's solemn warnings meant precisely and exactly nothing."

"And now, having enunciated the repeated murders of Americans by the Carranzistas, and having allowed himself before Carranza and Huerta to be placed Carranza in power, what is Mr. Wilson's reward and who pays it? The reward is that Mr. Wilson has to place his troops on the border, partly to prevent the raids and murders that his friend Mr. Carranza will not or cannot prevent; and the payment is made by the soldiers who are slain and by the families of the guardians who go to fight Mr. Wilson's refusal to let the regular army administer the frontier. The bands are to inspire in them a healthy fear."

Hit Hard at All.

"It should be a cardinal rule of conduct in international as in individual affairs never to hit if hitting can possibly be avoided; but never under any circumstances to hit soft. Mr. Wilson has been engaged in continual hitting. But he has always hit soft. And whenever his opponent has hit back, he has promptly dropped his arms, stopped hitting and taken refuge in platitudes about peace, non-intervention and humanity."

"Where, however, he has been sufficiently weak, as in the case of Huerta, he has dropped these platitudes and has 'with blood spilling' intervened. Huerta did not know what to do as Mr. Wilson's behavior, but Mr. Wilson intervened, fought the Huertistas, shedding their blood and the blood of our troops, took possession and now has our army forces in control of Huerta and directing its government."

"This course of action in Huerta can be defended only if his course of action in Mexico is unexampledly commendable. Such action was far more needed in Mexico than in Huerta. But there was a difference in the two cases; and to Mr. Wilson it was a vital difference. Huerta was weaker than Mexico. No one was afraid of Huerta."

Policy of Drift.

"We are told that the mass of the voters, the mass of the American people, will approve the policy of the Administration, the policy of drift, the policy of apoplexy failure to do our duty to ourselves and to others because they believe in 'safety first.' Such being the case, it is worth while examining just what 'safety' or 'safety first' means. And how far a policy based only on considerations of safety is materially advantageous and morally justifiable."

"It is unexampledly commendable that we should be so wise that we should shape our military policy so as to make ourselves—our home country, our canal zone, all our islands—absolutely safe against successful attack by any great European or Asiatic military power. To this extent safety coincides with duty. But this ultimate safety in the future is to be obtained not by shirking but by performing our duty in the present."

"When President Wilson two years ago assured the American nation that there was no need for preparedness, no need for worry about our military shortcomings, he was exactly the reverse of what he ought to have done. He should have done it to make good these shortcomings, he was sacrificing our future safety to considerations of momentary political popularity obtained by pandering to popular desire for the enjoyment of material ease and the avoidance of effort and of serious facing of duties."

"Mr. Wilson then put 'safety first' as compared with the reverse of what he ought to have done. He should have done it to make good these shortcomings, he was sacrificing our future safety to considerations of momentary political popularity obtained by pandering to popular desire for the enjoyment of material ease and the avoidance of effort and of serious facing of duties."

"I have done it. I hold that it is our clear duty to sacrifice some of our present ease and self enjoyment of material things in order to guarantee our future national safety. I hold that we should provide for the ample safeguarding of the heritage which our fathers left us and which our children should receive from us undiminished."

"I therefore believe, as I have before said, that not only should we provide a big and efficient navy and a small and efficient regular army, but that we should also provide for a system of obligatory military training of our young men on the Swiss and Australian models."

Condemns "Safety First."

"But this is not in the least what Mr. Wilson advocates when they ask us to support him because he and they are for 'safety first.' They are on an unworthy safety that is merely obtained by the abandonment of duty. They are for the momentary safety which short-sightedness, laziness and inertia provide for the present risk and effort at the cost of future disaster. They are for the 'safety' of every man to spend

his time in money making and in flashy ease, at the cost of remaining untrained and unfit to render service to the nation in the nation's hour of need."

"They are for the mean safety which this nation secured when it treated the Hague conventions, which it had signed, like scraps of paper and declined to make even a protest on behalf of tortured Belgium. They are for the safety this nation temporarily secured by tame submission to the murder of its men, women and children on land by Mexican bandits, and at sea in the Louisiana and similar cases by German submarines. This kind of 'safety first' means duty last, honor last, courage last. I do not believe in it. I believe that it is obtained at the cost of moral degradation in the present and at the risk of national ruin in the future."

"I believe that when the American people realize the issue is squarely before them they will put duty first and not safety first; and I believe that only by so doing will they secure real and ultimate safety. I believe that they will support a policy of national action demanding a spirit of national courage. The American people are at heart moral idealists and enthusiasts; and in the past they have again and again responded to some appeal for practical action, calling for idealism to perceive it and enthusiasm and self-devotion to carry it out."

"In 1860 the question whether the American people would allow the indefinite extension of slavery on the American continent was before them. The American people said, 'Let well enough alone, timidly said, Let us have peace; business interests said, Safety first; the spirit of patriotism said, Let us compromise, for the sake of slavery we are not to be compared with the evils of civil war and possible dissolution of the Union.'"

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saving of the Philippines as examples of American will."

Continuing his address he said:

"Since 1912 we have had four years of a policy which has been an opiate to the spirit of idealism. It has meant the relaxation of our moral fibre. Horror of war, combined with a sordid appeal to self-interest and to fear, has paralyzed the national conscience."

"Nevertheless I believe that the American people were ready for the same kind of appeal which was made to them by Abraham Lincoln in 1860, by the advocates of an honest currency in 1896, by the advocates of the Spanish war in 1898, by the advocates of nationalism in 1909. But the appeal was not made. On the contrary, Mr. Wilson invoked the spirit of timidity and selfishness. He made no effort to invoke the sense of duty. He put 'safety first,' the immediate safety of the moment, to be obtained by shirking from duty. He did not even put American rights first, still less did he put American duty first."

"His task was not an especially difficult or dangerous task; but it needed a brave heart and a steady hand. Under his hand America could and should have put itself at the head of all the neutral nations, by its example if not by direct diplomatic agreements, in demanding that the war should be conducted in accordance with the usage of civilized nations, that international law should be observed, that the rights of neutrals and non-combatants should be respected."

"If this spirit had animated our Administration there probably would have been no invasion of Belgium, no fears of a like fate to terrorize other smaller nations, no torpedoing of merchant vessels, no bombardment of churches and hospitals, no massacring of women and children, no murder of Miss Cavell, no attempt to exterminate the Armenians and Syrian Christians."

"We cannot undo what has been done. But we can repudiate what has been done. We can regain our own self-respect and the respect of other nations for this country. We can put in power an administration which will throughout

Recalls American Will.

Mr. Roosevelt then recalled Abraham Lincoln and his putting the question of the end of slavery before the American people in 1860 and adding by his decision, he also referred to the American people and his free silver creed in 1896, and the freeing of Cuba and the

Paints Picture of Ruin.

"At one time Mr. Wilson's policy of intervention produced such unhappy results that on June 2, 1915, he issued a formal warning to the Mexican factions in which he said that 'Mexico is apparently no nearer a solution of her tragic situation than she was in 1914. Her situation was first kindled. She has been swept by civil war as if by fire. Her crops are destroyed, her cattle confiscated, her people flee to the mountains to escape being drawn into unavailing bloodshed, and no man seems to see or lead the way to peace and settled order. There is no proper protection either for the citizens or for the citizens of other nations resident and at work within her territory. Mexico is starving and without a government.'"

"A delightful picture of the effects of Mr. Wilson's policy, by the way! He therefore tells Mexico that unless 'within a very short time' the Mexican leaders get together for the relief and redemption of their prostrate country, the United States 'will be constrained to decide what means should be employed' to deal with the situation. But as usual Mr. Wilson's solemn warnings meant precisely and exactly nothing."

"And now, having enunciated the repeated murders of Americans by the Carranzistas, and having allowed himself before Carranza and Huerta to be placed Carranza in power, what is Mr. Wilson's reward and who pays it? The reward is that Mr. Wilson has to place his troops on the border, partly to prevent the raids and murders that his friend Mr. Carranza will not or cannot prevent; and the payment is made by the soldiers who are slain and by the families of the guardians who go to fight Mr. Wilson's refusal to let the regular army administer the frontier. The bands are to inspire in them a healthy fear."

Hit Hard at All.

"It should be a cardinal rule of conduct in international as in individual affairs never to hit if hitting can possibly be avoided; but never under any circumstances to hit soft. Mr. Wilson has been engaged in continual hitting. But he has always hit soft. And whenever his opponent has hit back, he has promptly dropped his arms, stopped hitting and taken refuge in platitudes about peace, non-intervention and humanity."

"Where, however, he has been sufficiently weak, as in the case of Huerta, he has dropped these platitudes and has 'with blood spilling' intervened. Huerta did not know what to do as Mr. Wilson's behavior, but Mr. Wilson intervened, fought the Huertistas, shedding their blood and the blood of our troops, took possession and now has our army forces in control of Huerta and directing its government."

"This course of action in Huerta can be defended only if his course of action in Mexico is unexampledly commendable. Such action was far more needed in Mexico than in Huerta. But there was a difference in the two cases;